CONFESSIONS OF AN ERSTWHILE PARLOR SOCIALIST

not yet become fashionable to be radical, when, indeed, it took some courage to disregard conservative traditions and display even a tolerant interest toward the wild haired, the unconventional or the Socialists, I met an odd looking Russian Jew named Graefsky, who regarded me with attentive interest.

"Well," he said reflectively, "you are a perfectly new type of American girl to me. "If it's any comfort to you," I responded, somewhat on guard at being called a girl when I was 30, "you are a perfectly new type to me.'

Never had I encountered in my career of "having a good time" as a young girl in the South, as a well chaperoned girl travelling abroad, as a terribly bored young woman in New York city, as a special student at the University of Chicago, or even at various summer and winter resorts as I grew older, such a disarmingly frank, en gagingly rude, wholly unconventional and yet somehow infernally clever a little flatterer as this. Graefsky was frank in what he said, but not always in what he inferred. And before long I quite forgot to look for the flattery between the lines. Certainly he (and his kind) possessed the art of conversation, added to a keen intuition and an understanding of women that was almost womanish in itself. Presently he brought his chum, Braun, from across the room to be presented-taller, more presentable and with a delightful sense of humor very rare in the Russian-Jew or

Braun in his turn regarded me quizzically, remarking slowly, "Yes, she is different, Lou." He smiled at me. "What shall we do with her now we've found her?" "Make a good Socialist of her, of course,"

"Never!" I declared quickly. "You'll never do that."

"What do you know about Socialism that makes you sound so scornful?" asked

"Oh, well," I began, "it's queer and horrid, and they throw bombs and-

"Hear, hear!" Graefsky now interrupted. "The lady is mixing us up with Anarchists." "Just how much do you understand of the real fundamentals of Socialism?"

Braun inquired. I stammered a little. "Why, I'm afraid not very much in a technical sense." The

two exchanged a glance. "Good," smiled Braun. "We'll prove to you that we don't throw bombs, that we have ideals and are working for the good of the masses and the brotherhood of man. You approve of all that!" I nodded eagerly. "Very well, we'll take her in hand, Lou. And we'll begin by showing her some of the real swells among us-real bourgeoisie of the upper rich class like herself." He offered me his arm. "I will present to you that rare bird who is at once a millionaire. an American gentleman and a Socialist. He isn't even a Jew."

"I am of Jewish descent myself," I protested. "And you're mistaken if you think I'm rich. I used to be; but I'm considering going to work now

"Better and better." murmured Braun. as he and Graefsky piloted me across the "We need somebody like you in the cause."

After I had met the Socialist millionaire I had to admit that he looked and talked the part of Braun's "American gentleman"; moreover, he immediately lent a great prestige in my eyes to the present gathering of Socialists, whither I had come for the purpose of meeting "some interesting people."

HUS began my introduction at once particular period, bohemianism. Indeed, it was not long before Graefsky and Braun, in order to prove to me that even anarchism had its idealistic side, took me sort of a philandering, uninspired way; to the first of a series of lectures by Emma Goldman on the Russian novelists. It was just beginning to be the fashion in those days for uptown folk-rich women and men, teachers, artists of a sort, musicians, settlement workers, &c .- to get up parties to hear Emma Goldman (Who set the fashion is still to be determined!) Gay parties we were, made up of half educated self-satisfied men, women and even girls, who went down to some little hole in Greenwich Village in a high spirit of condescension, seeking merely a new sensation, Some of us, as the weeks went by of the Goldman lectures, gradually came to realize that in this clean skinned, quiet mannered, impassioned woman was a great speaker and a dangerous force. But at this first meeting Emma was too clever to reveal the full meaning of anarchism to her audience of bourgeoisie. No, what we got was largely between the line stuff, small hypodermic doses of the anarchistic virus. so tiny that we scarcely realized that we were getting them at all.

As the lectures continued we were being made just familiar enough with certain Russian novelists of the socialist and anarchist school to have a bowing acquaintance with not only their characters but with certain high sounding theories which these so often held-perhaps it was the beauty of free love, or the stupidity of any laws whatever for the superman, or the fallacy of religion. Most of us in our desire to be intellectual and up to date did not go so far as actually to read the books in question, for we gathered enough at the Goldman lectures to refer intelligently to them afterward. We could even quote a little clever stuff from Tolstoy, Turgenieff, Andrief, Gorky and the rest. But "Sanine" -that little history of murder, lust and bestiality by Arzibasheff-being the book of the hour that winter and almost required reading, we all chewed and digested it thoroughly. And gradually a tolerance tor the doctrines of free love, atheism and even a certain decadence seemed to denote that one was broad and "big." I remember

BOUT twelve years ago, when it had Frank Exposition of Methods of Insidious Propaganda Given by One Who Fell a Victim to It for a Time-What the Communist Manifesto Means and How Those Who Would Substitute It for the Constitution Work to That End

'free ideas.' My brother, for instance, when I confided to him what a wonderful woman Emma Goldman was, inquired pleasantly:

"Do you stan' for her programme?" when I replied from secure Olympian heights, "No, but I can see her point of view and respect it," I considered him extremely narrow minded when he remarked amusedly:

"Look out that you're not on the road to anarchism yourself, if you tolerate it." Another time I heard his telling somebody with a laugh that his proper sister was consorting with the latest thing in fashions-the anarchists-and that every time he heard of one of the gentry being arrested he trembled for fear a sympathetic letter from me should be found in the bosom of the bomber! But I would not be swerved by ridicule or even scorn; for one of the things which the Graefsky-Braun school emphasized was that a truly tree spirit would courageously continue in the search for truth in spite of family opposition or even adverse public opinion. One must be brave! . . .

where that year, sometimes singly. sometimes together, and still again with one of the hybrid parties-to all of the Goldman series of lectures, to see Mimi Agulia, the wild Sicilian actress; to the Liberal Club and finally to the Harvey salon. Hal Harvey, a well to do American painter who had married a Russian and turned Socialist, lived that year in a charming old house near Washington Square; and he kept the latchstring out for his comrades in a practical way. we all knew that the big brass key to the front door was always in the depths of the mail box when Hal and Manya Harvey were out. We were at liberty to go into the beautiful library, stretch out on the couch to smoke, or read any one of the many books on the shelves. (It was only when some of the most valuable of these began to disappear that the key was no onger put into the box).

The evening parties which the Harveys gave, though small and select, were very charming, indeed. There in front of the log fire one was likely to meet radicals near radicals and even radically inclined conservatives—plain Socialists, guild Socialists, Anarchists and Syndicalists, with their following of little literary persons, art students and the inevitable fashionables. At Harvey's the talk was good, the fun moderate and the propaganda withheld-at least it didn't stick out in the least. But I think perhaps more converts were made afterward through acquaintances made here than through any more deliberate attempt at conversion.

S time went on, though I was taken about by others of the Harvey set. it got to be generally understood that Graefsky and Braun considered me their special protegee, and there was some good natured bantering as to which of the two was the favored one. I really liked them both, but my main feeling was an intense desire to learn everything they might teach me, or-as one or the other put it-I was "like a big, insistent question mark."

It was this way: If what I had always considered black was white, and white black, well then I had to understand preto socialism and its ally of that cisely why. And when those new friends were unable to explain satisfactorily I remained unconvinced. As I remember. Graefsky made love to me a little, in a the two) made his appeal through my idealism. Once when I inquired why they were so nice to a little old maid who wasn't a bit pretty, Braun chuckled and answered with characteristic frankness that they wanted to make me one of them principally because I had a convincing way with me and had a big following. "If we succeed in getting you we'll probably get all your friends and family."

On the whole my immediate family, following the example of my brother, were rerfectly good natured about my radical friends, inviting them to dinner now and then and listening absent mindedly to their views. But they (the family) made me furious by refusing laughingly to accompany me to the meetings of the radicals to read their books, maintaining that their olfactory nerves were too sensitive for both. Many of my old friends, however, not being so finicky, attended the meetings, read the books, made friends with the radicals and, in some instances, caused me no little uneasiness-at the time and since (especially since) -- by actually joining the ranks of the Socialist

party. For let it be said at once that I myself was never converted wholly to what I un-Though I derstood Socialism to be. learned many beguiling things about that philosophy in the course of time-that socialism meant a square deal to everyoody, especially the poor workingman; that the super-rich were to be less rich and the poor less poor; that the only true socialism was the brotherhood of man, this to be brought about by evolution (but that one must not be too hard on the impatient left wingers and their programme of violence)-in spite of all these and more humanitarian measures held out, still I hung back from committing myself.

Somehow, though the talk was fair and the Wells-Bertrand Russell-Zueblin variety of Socialist propaganda given me to read. pleasantly sugar coated, still I held aloof. For one thing, as I grew to know some of the radicals better I felt more and more that I didn't really "belong." I suspected

their disbelief in marriage, family life or (To be "big" was the great ambition in

those days, even as it is now). At one stage of the game I was rather sorry to be small: but the thing seemed to finally I became resigned. In retrospect I be frank about it, for I should be his true can see that this was partly because I was constantly differing from Braun and the honest desire of a woman and a man Graefsky in certain fundamentals. But for each other? No underhand stuff for what may have made me really immune me! (not to take too much credit to myself) and lit a cigarette. was a little matter of having been all the while in love with an unpoetic, practical heroines! I was full of admiration for man of affairs who regarded all radicals as this magnificent honesty. And when Ben mere "nuts."

NE spring day Graefsky and Braun were taking me to Carnegie Hall to hear Eugene Debs, discussing on the way his probable exciting effect on such a high strung, sensitive nature as mine. As we entered the crowded place, certainly I was all keyed up. But afterward, as we THE two men took me about every- three sat on a bench in the park, I found myself curiously let down and saying defensively, "But he seems like a big, excited, violent child. He's not even logical. He's almost pathetic."

Graefsky threw up his hands in disgust and said, "Bourgeois to the core! I give you up." I was genuinely sorry.

"But not at all!" smiled Braun. "I hold on to you tight. You may not be a full fledged Socialist, but you are a Socialist sympathizer. Now, aren't you?"
"Of course I am," I declared eagerly.

'Haven't I shown that? Don't I always fight your battles with the narrow minded? Don't I like lots of things about Socialism even though I don't join the party?"

"She'll do! She'll do!" Braun cried. Don't be a donkey, Lou."

Thus I achieved my title of Socialist sympathizer—better known to-day as Parlor Socialist-and Lou, brightening up, began to discuss the Oriental rhythm of "The Love Lyries of India."

Here if anybody should ask, "But how could you influence people toward a movement of which you, yourself understood so little?" I could only answer that what I did understand of Socialism (the shorter working hours, higher wages, better working conditions, &c., which I now recognize as mere "trimmings," likely to attract all right minded persons)-those seemed to me the backbone of the entire philosophy.

Certainly nothing in the Wells-Zueblin books of the period made me doubt that the Socialist, brotherhood of man goal was to be reached altogether through these and other reform measures. And even though I had looked through the socalled Bible of the Socialists-The Communist Manifesto. written by Marx and Engels in 1848-nobody encouraged me to study the somewhat involved style or the unfamiliar words and phrases which Socialist literature affects. If, or example, I read in the Manifesto that the Socialist state expected to "expropriate" private property, I took for granted that if they proposed confiscation they naturally also planned reimburse-ment. Once when Graefsky saw the little pamphlet in my hands he said doubtfully to Braun:

"Is she ready for the Manifesto?"

Braun chuckled. "Oh, let her have it. She won't necessarily read through the dull stuff anyway. She takes us on faith. She won't join us, but she's working for us just the same."

in his frankness I can see now. Of course, if I had indeed studied the Manifesto (which indulges in some unusually definite statements) I should have experienced a little revolution of my own. As it was, if any one had told me that the "Socialist Bible" advocated the confiscation of all private property-without any remunerationand the gradual overthrow by violence of all capitalistic governments, including our own-I should surely have laughed. Braun had said, I took my people on faith!

7 ELL, then, on the compromise plank of a Socialist sympathizer I drifted on for some years, even after something happened to make me doubt the personal sincerity of my Socialist guides. This came about through Sarah Blank, the olive skinned, smooth haired serpentine young Russian, whom I had met through them. From the first I had felt somewhat repelled by Sarah, but forgot this in my admiration for her cleverness and a certain high courage which she had.

Candor was Sarah's habit, and she was fond of boasting that not alone did she believe in free love, but meant to live up to belief whenever she really fell in love. "What is the mere marriage ceremony?" she would ask, with her lazy smile and a twist of her lazy body from the depths of the couch cushions of the bare little flat, quietly married a girl he loved. Graefsky

one love of my life (and love is the greatthey were "big" and that I was "small." est hunger in the world) do you suppose I would let a stupid bourgeois marriage cerewould let a stupid bourgeois marriage cere-mony stand in my way? Bah! No!"

"Do you mean that you'll be his-" I stammered over the word.

"Mistress? Why yes, little Miss Question a matter of fate-inevitable! And Mark, that's what I do mean. Only I should wife. What is there to be ashamed of in She settled back in the cushions

Here at last was something like the book the Russian Yiddish actor, on a visit to this country, appeared in Sarah's flat to smoke cigarettes, pose and hold his court there, it soon became evident that his wife at home was not to intefere with any admiration which he felt for Sarah. I watched the little drama with breathless interest. If, indeed, she did go to him as her one great love, would it be done openly as she had boasted and as Braun Graefsky would strongly approve? Had they not often told me how noble a woman was who gave herself frankly and openly to her lover, disregarding narrow convention, scorning any loss of caste? Even without their preaching I could see a certain noble courage in such a woman.

Well, Sarah did go to Ben and altogether openly at that. I had just had the news from her in a little note which said that I was the first person to be told, but to-morrow every one would know, when I dashed off to an evening party at the Harveys. Here Braun had a perfectly new foreign lion in tow, and Graefsky was looking after me. Presently some one casually mentioned Sarah's name. At the moment I happened to be looking at Braun and saw him glance significantly and sneeringly at my companion. Clearly they also knew about Sarah. Graefsky frankly leered. Something seemed to be the matter near the pit of my stomach. But then I flared with indignation. They had been pretending! For each expression said as

plain as spoken words, "She has lost caste." So it was in a mere exchange of glances that I found my poseurs out, and I am afraid I took it rather hard. We never discussed Sarah's nobility or mentioned her in any way. But from that moment I lost faith in the personal sincerity of Braun and Graefsky, seeing less and less of them. After this I was fond of saying, "I like Socialism well enough, but I don't care for the Socialists." This witticism usually brought a laugh, and I thought I had invented it. Since then I have often heard it spoken by other fools.

NE day Braun confided to me, "You don't like any of us as much as you used to, and some day I'll find out why." I didn't have the courage to refer to the mere interchange of smile and ventured, "Why, I've found out that you are all a lot of irresponsibles."

"Is that all? That's an old story," Braun smiled. "You'll have to get used to us. We don't like to grow up. That's all."

But I had now lost faith! And I had a legitimate excuse to stop seeing my radical friends in some settlement work which carried me into a field which neither man could as a Socialist approve. "Sentimental stuff!" crief Graefsky.

"Mere patchwork!" said Braun.

Since, however, what they said no longer influenced me, I threw myself whole heartedly into that and similar work for the next five years, during which time I saw nothing whatever of either man. If at the end of the period I came to agree partly with both that settlement work is largely futile, this was on very different grounds from their own. In other words, if I do not believe in ignorant idealists trying to Americanize the alien of to-day, this is be cause the average immigrant is a radical, whose main interest is precisely to overthrow the Constitution of the United States. Further, since the young settlement crusaders are often turned out of college altogether tolerant of Socialism. they often become converted entirely through certain foreigners coming to the house—as often as not shrewd and highly educated Socialist propagandists. Accordingly, instead of the alien being Americanized, our social workers are often alienated from Americanism.

This, however, is a digression, and I must return to my story, which, after some five years, brings me presently to the last lap of my activities along the lines of social work-the spring of 1917. In the meantime the war had broken out in Europe, and though I saw very little of my radical friends, yet when I did meet them I found myself less and less in sympathy with their so-called modernity. For Braun, after mocking at and reviling marriage, had

some of my family and friends lifting up this in spite of the fact that, as I have which was, nevertheless, charming. "If I had made money through a business ventheir hands (and eyebrows) at some of my said, I honestly did not criticise them for met a married man whom I felt was the ture and emerged a capitalist. And Sarah, the single minded, had tired of her actor and had already lived with two other men. No wonder I firmly announced myself as old fashioned. No wonder I listened unmoved to the arguments against patriotism, against preparedness, for immediate peace, a neutral conference and the rest of those strange cries of 1914-1917 so often on the lips of the radicals! But though I had indeed lost faith in their modern theories, yet I still had confidence in what I liked to call the religion of the Socialiststhat is, I had confidence in their sincere endeavor to make the world a better place through a humanitarian programme.

> NCE we were in the war it was not long before I found something to do connected with it-first, as secretary for volunteers of Mayor Mitchel's Committee on National Defence and later as secretary of the speakers' bureau of patriotic organization. Once more was closely associated with Socialists, largely with those who had left the party on account of its war platform and who offered their services in the allied cause. A few of these I had run across before, but most of the charming foreign men-Greeks, Rumanians, Armenians, Australians, New Zealanders, Italians and even two Germans (supposedly converted)—were strangers to By the time that I got to the National Speakers' Bureau I was so well acquainted with the talents of the foreigners in ques tion that the director of the speakers' bureau put me in charge of this group of speakers. And thereby hangs my tale.

It had seemed wise in those days to oose a reconverted Socialist to go down to the great Socialist centres in order to reconcile the young men to the draft, and then to put the fire of patriotism into their hearts. Indeed, I had lately seen this miracle happen when I had accompanied-let us call him Fred Reynolds, an old acquaintance and a former Socialist, who had turned patriot-as he filled one of these difficult assignments. What a ringing denunciation of the Germans he gave! What a stirring account of his own conversion! And what magnificent enthusiasm he wrung from his audience! I was so happy that I at once gave Reynolds another as signment of the same nature for the next week. And it was altogether by accident that I happened upon him speaking at a Socialist meeting of which I knew nothing the very next day. It was even partly accidental that I refrained from letting him know that I was in his audience. For I had come in late, and as I observed the lady really imagine she can persuade the sea of eager, swarthy, discontented faces about me I thought it as well to remain

It was well indeed! For here at last I found out what had so long eluded me, the true meaning of Socialism! In that clever, guarded speech, keeping carefully within the letter of the law, making the most of his points between the lines, the speaker made the truth about Socialism fairly stick the party not because he did not believe in the overthrow of our capitalistic Govern- method." ment, not because he did not believe in the Socialists confiscating all private prop- at all," said the Russian. "They will erty (as their right), or in the dictatorship merely call you a victim of mob hysteria of the proletariat or in the disarming of the bourgeoisie! Not at all! Thanks to icans will never study. I'll stake my remy familiarity with the catch phrases of tation as a prophet on it." Socialism (imperfect as this war) I gathered that the speaker merely didn't consider the time ripe or even propitious for ing up. a revolution. He suggested putting off it could be successfully achieved to-morrow. He inferred that it would be wise to accept the draft, help the Allies destroy the German capitalists, thus gaining the confiwar was over, work all the more successfully for the revolution.

At last I could boast of understanding the very philosophy of Socialism! A certain paragraph of "The Communist Manifesto" (P. 33) which I had once accepted in a purely Pickwickian sense now sprang into my mind:

"In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we in-

How was it, I asked myself, that I could not have grasped before the crystal clearness of these words? At this distance I could only surmise that in the old days my mind had been so confused by hearing so much of "all sides of the question" (as well as by the lack of any serions study) that I was incapable of any clear judgment.

From that time on, however, I have made up for my previous failure to study. I know "The Communist Manifesto" and even the Socialist constitution of to-day so well that I can see for myself that Socialism carried to its logical conclusion must always end in what some call bolshevism and others communism. I even

the Socialists, knowing that the scheme must always end in chaos, are merely working to get the power of life and death here as they have in Russia. And if I am still fighting the Socialists to-dayboth the outspoken and the disguised variety-whenever and wherever I can this is because I see that they have al ready succeeded in undermining the confidence of some of our people in the Constitution of the United States

The Constitution of the United States! In the old days I understood almost as little of its workings as of the Socialist constitution. But nowadays I have not even confined myself to the study of the forces determined to destroy our Government. To-day I know our own Constitution well enough to realize what true liberty it represents; to correct many false statements made concerning it, and to defend it generally against-attack.

AST winter I ran across Graefsky, who, though very prosperous these days, still calls himself a Socialist, giving divers weak reasons for holding on to and profiting by his accumulated wealth. He hailed me blithely and inquired when I would go to an interesting meeting with him. I answered that I had done with Socialist meetings and Socialism long ago, upon which he urged that this was not a Socialist but a free

speech meeting. 'Now. now, Graefsky," I smiled, "I know better than that nowadays. I've made a study of many forms of your camouflage, even of the free speech variety." I paused. "It's very clever of you people to invoke one part of our Constitution-the Freedom of Speech clause-so you may be allowed to try to destroy the rest."

"What else does the wise lady know?" he inquired.

Well, that the Socialists are planning to fool the bourgeoisie in this country into helping the revolutionary cause, just as they did in the Russian and the French revolutions." He raised his eyebrows. 'And I've read 'The Communist Manifesto' thoroughly at last." He laughed. "And I've studied the N. Y. State Report on 'Revolutionary Radicalism'; and I've read Boris Brasol's 'Socialism vs. Civilization.' Also I'm a diligent reader of The Call. And I've even paid some visits to the Rand School lectures."

At this Graefsky's manner changed entirely. "Well, and what do you propose to do about Socialism since you've decided that you really don't fancy it?"

"Wake other people up! Point out for instance that since Lenine has lately announced a 'partial return to capitalism. Socialism is clearly a false and rotten philosophy." He shook his head, smiling. "I'll show other people how necessary it is to

He laughed again. "And does the wise average American woman to study?" nodded. "Don't you suppose we've made a study of her ourselves? You were one of our subjects. Did you study in the old days?"

I winced but managed to smile. "That's why I am determined to spare other women of my kind the happiness of having helped a bad cause merely through a little mental laziness. The trouble with me was out. It seemed that he had resigned from that whatever studying I did was under you Socialists. I'll warn against that

> "I shouldn't advise your warning then or else a fanatic. And certainly the Amer

I considered. "But you were careful to keep me confused. Our people are wak

Graefsky laughed. "We are also keep politely, "I have predicted it. They will never study. You yourself are by nature an optimist."

"Oh, I don't know," I said as I turned dence of patriots here; and then, after the to leave him. "Let me see: The Women's City Club of New York, the Massachusetts Public Interests League, the Constitutional Leagues of Wellesley, Milton and Cambridge and eight other Women's Clubs are studying." . . .

> INCE then many forces have combined of fortuitously to awaken the people of this country to the perils of Socialism as such. Vice-President Coolidge has given solemn warning to the mothers of college students. Soviet Russia, collapsing in a famine due mainly to the socialism in action itself, continues to use the much reviled capitalistic system, for the moment at least. And certain former Socialists have returned from Russia thoroughly cured of Socialism. There are still. however, all too many perfectly well meaning American idealists, confused or deceived, or in any case not informed, who ingist, in the name of humanity, in either furthering the cause of Socialism unahashed or else of Socialism disguised. They cannot even see that while we are feeding Soviet Russia the agents of Soviet Russia in this country, through the Third internationale, continue steadily to agitate for a revolution here.

Hardly anybody realizes that our whole country is infested with eloquent speakers who on the one hand are inflaming huge audiences of working people to a socialist revolution and on the other roundly cursing out Socialism under that name to huge audiences of the employing class, confusing or soothing them as to the likelihood of any revolutionary danger whatever. And inserted between the lines -under one camouflage or another-is some very careful and effective socialist propaganda!

It makes a former Parlor Socialist smile a little-on the wrong side of her mouth.

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Important Features of a Parlor Socialist's Confession.

TYPODERMIC doses of the virus of anarchism served to the bourgeoisie, who do not realize it.

Truly free spirit will search for truth in spite of family opposition and adverse public opinion. Propaganda of free love was there, but sugar coated.

Socialism advanced as a square deal for everybody, espe-ally the poor workingman—the super-rich are to be less

It was being "big" not to criticise the Socialists for their disbelief in marriage, family life and religion.

No stupid bourgeois marriage ceremony should be allowed to interfere with the "love of a life."

-Average immigrant is a radical whose main interest is to overthrow the Constitution of the United States. Still hopeful after disillusion, in the sincerity of the en-

deavor of the Socialists to make the world a better place. Kernel of Socialism in the Communist manifesto reads: You reproach us with intending to do away with your prop-erty. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

Don't study Socialism under the Socialists because of mental laziness; it's a bad method of learning the facts.